

Message Text

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EUR:JGLOWENSTEIN

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO AMEMBASSY CANBERRA PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY JAKARTA PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY LIMA PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY SAN JOSE PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY VIENNA PRIORITY

INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY PARIS

USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 230020

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: UN, SF, PFOR

SUBJECT: HIGH LEVEL APPROACH AGAINST EXPULSION OF
SOUTH AFRICA FROM UN

1. ACTION ADDRESSEES ARE REQUESTED TO TRANSMIT FOLLOWING
LETTER FROM SECRETARY TO MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS:

BEGIN QTE

DEAR MR. MINISTER,

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NOW THAT THE SECURITY COUNCIL, AT THE REQUEST OF THE

AFRICAN GROUP, IS BEGINNING TO DISCUSS SOUTH AFRICA'S RELATIONS WITH THE UNITED NATIONS, CLOSE CONSULTATIONS BETWEEN OUR TWO GOVERNMENTS ARE ESSENTIAL IF WE ARE TO EMERGE WITH DECISIONS THAT WILL ENHANCE RATHER THAN DAMAGE THE FUTURE OF THE UNITED NATIONS.

THE UNITED STATES SHARES WITH PERU AND IN FACT ALMOST EVERY GOVERNMENT ON THIS GLOBE A STRONG REVULSION AGAINST THE RACIAL POLICIES OF SOUTH AFRICA. WE BELIEVE, HOWEVER, THAT CHANGES IN SOUTH AFRICAN RACIAL POLICIES WILL COME ABOUT MORE RAPIDLY IF THAT GOVERNMENT IS PRESENT IN THE COUNCILS OF THE UNITED NATIONS AND SUBJECT TO THE FULL FORCE OF WORLD OPINION THERE.

EVEN MORE FUNDAMENTAL ARE THE PRINCIPLES AT STAKE IN THE COUNCIL'S DELIBERATIONS. THEY ARE, IN OUR VIEW, THE OVERRIDING DESIRABILITY OF MAINTAINING THE WORLDWIDE CHARACTER OF THE UNITED NATIONS AND, CONVERSELY, THE DANGER OF ESTABLISHING THE PRECEDENT OF DEPRIVING ANY MEMBER STATE OF ITS MEMBERSHIP OR ITS RIGHTS IN THE ORGANIZATION BECAUSE ITS POLICIES MAY BE THE SUBJECT OF WIDESPREAD DISAPPROVAL.

I AM CONFIDENT THAT YOUR EXCELLENCY AND THE GOVERNMENT OF (PERU) SHARE THESE CONCERNS. IT IS MY HOPE THAT OUR DELEGATIONS IN NEW YORK, ALONG WITH OTHER LIKE-MINDED DELEGATIONS, CAN TAKE COMMON POSITIONS IN THE COUNCIL'S DELIBERATIONS. I AM WRITING YOU IN THE SPIRIT OF MUTUAL INTEREST AND CLOSE COOPERATION WHICH INCREASINGLY ANIMATES THE RELATIONS BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND (PERU) IN SO MANY FIELDS OF ACTION.

--- WARM REGARDS,

--- HENRY A. KISSINGER

--- END QUOTE

2. BACKGROUND. ON SEPTEMBER 30 UNGA ADOPTED RESOLUTION CALLING ON SECURITY COUNCIL TO REVIEW RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN
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SOUTH AFRICA AND UN. AFRICAN GROUP HAS REQUESTED COUNCIL TO TAKE UP MATTER ON OCTOBER 18, AND THERE IS STRONG POSSIBILITY THAT THEY WILL PROPOSE RESOLUTION RECOMMENDING SOUTH AFRICA'S EXPULSION OR SUSPENSION. UNDER CHARTER ARTICLES 5 AND 6, GA MAY EXPEL OR SUSPEND MEMBER UPON RECOMMENDATION OF SC FOR VIOLATION OF CHARTER PRINCIPLES. THE AFRICANS WOULD BE LIKELY TO JUSTIFY A RECOMMENDATION OF SUSPENSION OR EXPULSION ON GROUNDS THAT

SOUTH AFRICA HAS VIOLATED CHARTER PRINCIPLES BY ITS DOMESTIC RACIAL POLICIES, BY REFUSAL TO HEED SC'S CALL TO WITHDRAW FROM NAMIBIA, OR BY ITS MILITARY AND ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE TO RHODESIA.

3. US IS AWARE OF AND DEPLORES SOUTH AFRICA'S TRANSGRESSIONS. WE, NONETHELESS, DO NOT BELIEVE IT WOULD BE DESIRABLE TO REMOVE SOUTH AFRICA FROM THE UN EITHER BY SUSPENSION OR EXPULSION. REMOVAL OF SOUTH AFRICA FROM UN WOULD ELIMINATE WHATEVER MODERATING INFLUENCE ORGANIZATION HAS ON SOUTH AFRICA'S POLICIES. MOREOVER, IT WOULD SET EXAMPLE FOR SIMILAR ACTION AGAINST OTHER MEMBERS, SUCH AS ISRAEL, WHOSE POLICIES MAY AT A GIVEN TIME BE OBJECTIONABLE TO MAJORITY OF UN MEMBERSHIP. FINALLY, WE

OPPOSE EXPULSION OR SUSPENSION, WHICH HAS SAME PRACTICAL EFFECT, ON GROUNDS THAT IT WOULD DETRACT FROM ORGANIZATION'S WORLDWIDE CHARACTER.

4. ABSTENTIONS BY SEVEN OF FIFTEEN SC MEMBERS WOULD DEFEAT EXPULSION OR SUSPENSION RESOLUTION. UK AND FRANCE HAVE INDICATED THAT THEY WOULD ABSTAIN ON EXPULSION. WE BELIEVE UK WOULD ABSTAIN ON SUSPENSION BUT WE DON'T KNOW HOW FRANCE WOULD VOTE. WE BELIEVE THAT OF SC MEMBERS ONLY AUSTRIA, AUSTRALIA, PERU, COSTA RICA AND POSSIBLY INDONESIA MIGHT JOIN THREE PERMANENT MEMBERS IN ABSTAINING AND THUS DEFEATING SOUTH AFRICA'S EXPULSION; WE DON'T KNOW HOW THEY WOULD VOTE ON SUSPENSION. DEFEAT OF EXPULSION AND SUSPENSION RESOLUTIONS BY ABSTENTION WOULD AVOID NEED TO CONSIDER USING US VETO, MOVE WHICH WOULD HAVE DAMAGING CONSEQUENCES TO POLITICAL AND PERHAPS ALSO TO ECONOMIC INTERESTS OF U.S. THERE ALSO POSSIBILITY AFRICANS MIGHT NOT PROPOSE EXPULSION OR SUSPENSION RESOLUTIONS. CONFIDENTIAL

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LUTIONS IF THEY BECAME AWARE SEVEN COUNCIL MEMBERS WILLING TO ABSTAIN AND PREVENT ADOPTION OF SUCH RESOLUTION. WE THEREFORE WOULD LIKE VERY MUCH TO OBTAIN SUPPORT OF AUSTRIA, AUSTRALIA, COSTA RICA, PERU, AND INDONESIA IN PREVENTING ADOPTION OF SUCH RESOLUTIONS.

5. LIMA MAY USE FOREIGN MINISTER'S FIRST NAME IN SALUTATION. OTHER ACTION ADDRESSEES SHOULD ADDRESS LETTERS "DEAR MR. MINISTER."

6. CHIEF OF MISSION SHOULD SUPPLEMENT LETTERS BY ORAL PRESENTATION. HE SHOULD POINT OUT THAT ABSTENTION WOULD GIVE WITNESS TO DISAPPROVAL OF APARTHEID WHILE PREVENTING VERY UNFORTUNATE EXAMPLE OF EXPELLING OR SUSPENDING UN MEMBER. EXPULSION OR SUSPENSION OF SOUTH AFRICA WOULD

TEND TO ENCOURAGE SIMILAR ACTION AGAINST OTHER MEMBER STATES WHICH MIGHT AT ONE TIME OR ANOTHER INCUR DIS-APPROVAL OF UN MEMBERS. SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT HAS MADE SOME COSMETIC CHANGES. NEW GEOPOLITICAL SITUATION IN SOUTHERN AFRICA RESULTING FROM INSTALLATION OF FRELIMO GOVERNMENT IN MOZAMBIQUE AND EVENTUAL INDEPENDENCE OF ANGOLA WILL HAVE MAJOR IMPACT ON SOUTH AFRICA. US BELIEVES THAT UN CAN AND SHOULD TAKE ADVANTAGE OF NEW CIRCUMSTANCES TO PUT RENEWED PRESSURE ON SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT TO MAKE SUBSTANTIAL CHANGES IN ITS RACIAL POLICIES. HOWEVER FOR UN TO HAVE INFLUENCE, SOUTH AFRICA SHOULD NOT BE EXPELLED OR EVEN SUSPENDED, AS IT IMPORTANT SOUTH AFRICA BE PRESENT IN UN IN ORDER TO FEEL FULL WEIGHT OF WORLD OPPROBRIUM AND IN ORDER TO LEAVE OPEN POSSIBILITY OF UN PLAYING ROLE IN NEGOTIATING CHANGE. WE HOPE THAT

HOST GOVERNMENT WILL AGREE WITH US VIEWS AND ABSTAIN ON ANY RESOLUTION TO EXPEL OR SUSPEND SOUTH AFRICA.

7. REQUEST POSTS REPORT REACTIONS OF HOST GOVERNMENTS AS SOON AS POSSIBLE, INFO USUN.

8. FOR LONDON AND PARIS: YOU MAY INFORM UK AND FRENCH GOVERNMENTS OF US APPROACHES TO OTHER SC MEMBERS. YOU WILL ALSO BE RECEIVING LETTER FROM SECRETARY TO UK AND FRENCH FOREIGN MINISTERS REQUESTING THEY MAKE SIMILAR
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APPROACHES. KISSINGER

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